

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 123855

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OSD:SEC. BROWN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION USNATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 123855

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, MPOL

SUBJECT: NATO ARMAMENTS COOPERATION - FAMILY OF WEAPONS
CONCEPT

PLEASE DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM SECDEF BROWN TO
MINISTER APEL:

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR COLLEAGUE:

BECAUSE I SHARE YOUR CONCERN AT THE LACK OF VISIBLE
PROGRESS ON GREATER NATO ARMAMENTS COLLABORATION AND MORE
OF A TWO-WAY STREET, I HAVE A SUGGESTION TO MAKE. AS
YOU KNOW, I HAVE CONCLUDED THAT BOTH CAN BEST BE ACHIEVED
BY COLLABORATION FROM THE OUTSET ON FAMILIES OF NEW
SYSTEMS. ONCE ANY OF US HAVE INVESTED LARGE SUNK
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 STATE 123855

COSTS, THERE ARE STRONG PRESSURES AGAINST CANCELLING A
DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IN FAVOR OF ANOTHER ALLY'S SYSTEM.
BUT IF WE DIVIDE UP DEVELOPMENT RESPONSIBILITY FROM THE
OUTSET AND DO NOT DUPLICATE EACH OTHER, THEN WE HAVE
NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO BUY OR LICENSE FROM EACH OTHER,
WITH RESULTANT GAINS IN STANDARDIZATION AND POTENTIAL
COST SAVINGS. FROM MY DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU, BOURGES,

AND MULLEY (AND THOSE BETWEEN OUR ARMAMENTS DIRECTORS),
I BELIEVE WE AGREE ON THESE PROPOSITIONS.
HENCE, I WOULD LIKE TO PUT SOME POLITICAL-LEVEL
PUSH BEHIND WHAT I REGARD AS A POTENTIAL BREAKTHROUGH--
THE RECENT AGREEMENT OF THE FRG, FRENCH, UK, AND US
ARMAMENTS DIRECTORS JOINTLY TO EXPLORE FOUR KEY
PROGRAM PACKAGES: (A) AIR-TO-GROUND MUNITIONS, (B)
ASSMS, (C) AAMS, AND (D) ATGWS. WE COULD GIVE IT THIS
POLITICAL HELP BY JOINTLY ANNOUNCING IT PUBLICLY, IN
VERY GENERAL TERMS, AT THE SUMMIT. FRED MULLEY SUGGESTS
THE FOLLOWING WORDING: "AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED
TO PURSUE URGENTLY THE CONCEPT OF ESTABLISHING PACKAGES
OF WEAPONS IN WHICH THERE WOULD BE A RATIONAL ALLOCATION
OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPMENT WORK DESIGNED TO
REDUCE THE EXTENT OF DUPLICATORY EFFORT WITHIN THE
ALLIANCE AT THE DEVELOPMENT STAGE OF PROJECTS." I
PROPOSE TO ADD ONLY ONE SENTENCE, DRAWN FROM THE NAD
MEMORANDUM, SAYING: "TO BEGIN WITH, THEY ARE CONSIDERING
THE POSSIBILITIES IN THE FIELDS OF (1) AIR-TO-GROUND
MUNITIONS; (2) ASSMS; (3) AAMS; AND ATGWS." THIS
ADDITION DOES NOT SEEM TO ME IN ANY WAY TO PREJUDGE
THE ISSUES WHICH THE NADS STILL HAVE TO RESOLVE, SUCH
AS THAT OF ONE NEXT GENERATION ATGW OR TWO. YET
BY BEING MORE CONCRETE IT ADDS GREATLY TO THE
CREDIBILITY OF ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 123855

I PLAN TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER WITH BOURGES WHEN
I SEE HIM RIGHT AFTER THE DPC. I HOPE THE FRENCH WILL
COME ALONG. IF IT WOULD MAKE THINGS EASIER FOR THEM,
WE COULD MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT AFTER THE HEADS OF
GOVERNMENT DISCUSSION OF ARMAMENTS COLLABORATION, WHERE
FRENCH WILL BE PRESENT.

IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY MISAPPREHENSION ON THE
PART OF OUR OTHER ALLIES THAT WE ARE PROCEEDING AS A
FOUR-POWER CONDOMINIUM, I SUGGEST THAT WE MAKE OUR
ANNOUNCEMENT OPEN-ENDED TO THE EXTENT FEASIBLE.
I SEE A COMPELLING POLITICAL NEED FOR SOME SUCH
PUBLIC GESTURE TO CONVEY CONYINUING US DETERMINATION
TO SEEK GREATER ARMAMENTS COLLABORATION AND MORE OF A
TWO-WAY STREET, AS THE PRESIDENT PLEDGED IN LONDON LAST
MAY. IT WOULD HELP OVERCOME EUROPEAN SKEPTICISM
ABOUT THE TWO-WAY STREET. BY INITIATING JOINT
PACKAGES AT THE OUTSET OF THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS, IT
WOULD ALSO GREATLY EASE MY PROBLEMS WITH CONGRESS, AND
I BELIEVE YOURS WITH THE BUNDESTAG.

MY SECOND REASON FOR SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT IS

THAT, JUST WHEN WE ARE FINALLY MOVING TOWARD GREATER
ARMS COOPERATION WITH OUR ALLIES, SOME OF THE ALLIES
WITH WHOM WE HAD HOPED TO BE WORKING MOST CLOSELY GAVE
THE IMPRESSION OF PREFERRING TO GO THEIR OWN WAY. SUCH
AN IMPRESSION CANNOT HELP BUT UNDERMINE THE PRESIDENT'S
NEW NATO POLICY--AND SUPPORT OUR COMMON DEFENSE. HENCE
WE OUGHT TO USE THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE SUMMIT TO
EXERT LEADERSHIP ON THIS ISSUE. I AM WRITING FRED
MULLEY ALONG THE SAME LINES, AND SUGGEST THAT WE
CONCERT FURTHER AT THE DPC.

SINCERELY,

HAROLD BROWN. END TEXT.
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PAGE 04 STATE 123855

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